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AUTHOR Mock, Carol C.
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ABSTRACT

In the transmission of a language from one generation to another, the specific role of the family is not clear. There is evidence that in cities parents have less influence on a child's vernacular than playmates do; in rural areas, members of the nuclear family might be the major source of language change and stability, if the people with whom children interact the most are the ones who determine their language socialization. A sociolinguistic study of phonological variables, based on interviews eliciting formal and casual speech from four generations of a rural Ozark family, indicates that even in rural settings the family may be only a minor influence on the phonetic character of speech. Results from a pilot study show discontinuities among family members as well as similarities and progressive changes: /ey/ is becoming more centralized in each generation and is developing strong prosodic conditioning, while /ay/ varies from near-monophthong to definite diphthong, but not along the generational parameter, and is emerging as a marker of sexual identity. The influence of family members may be one of the factors affecting language change, but it appears not to be a strong factor even in rural areas. Statistical tables and diagrams are appended. (Author/AM)

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CONCURRENT SHIFTING OF /AY/ AND /EY/ IN THE SPEECH OF
FOUR GENERATIONS OF AN OZARK FAMILY

Paper presented by Carol C. Mock, Department of Sociology, Southwest Missouri State University, at the Midwest regional meeting of the American Dialect Society, Chicago, Illinois; October 27, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

One of the basic assumptions made by many theoretical linguists has been that the object of study should be the intuitive competence of an ideal speaker-hearer, someone who uses a uniform style of speaking and is a member of a uniform speech community (cf. Chomsky 1965). Thus the linguist's goal has been to capture the deep structure of language in a set of categorical rules, with the methodological result that the observable variability of speech (or linguistic performance) has often been considered irrelevant to the goals of linguistic description and explanation.

In contrast to this, the basic assumptions of much of sociolinguistic research are that the non-uniform, heterogeneous nature of speech is related to an inherent variability within linguistic competence itself, and that this variability has a theoretical importance for an understanding of language change and the nature of language socialization (or language development) (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968; Labov, Yaeger and Steiner 1972). The methodological implication of this variability hypothesis is that meticulous study of the variation observable in actual speech is a useful linguistic enterprise, because it can be taken as a statistical reflection of an underlying competence which itself includes variability (Bailey 1973, Cedergren and Sankoff 1974).

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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

Sociolinguistics developed originally within urban settings (e.g. Labov 1966, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967); but sociolinguistic study of language processes in other contexts is also necessary to complement the urban research; the theoretical implications of urban studies need to be tested in rural areas and ultimately in other cultures before they can be properly evaluated. This paper is a report on a piece of current research designed to meet part of that need through a study of families in a rural area.

One of the implications of urban research has been that the family a person grows up in may not be the primary determinant of his vernacular (Labov 1964). The evidence on this point is not entirely in agreement: studies of language acquisition (e.g. Snow 1972, Nelson 1973) and of the development of cognitive orientations (Bernstein 1971) indicate that at least in the earliest stages of a child's life, the greatest influence on language development may be the mother. On the other hand, Labov has found that the peer group a 10 or 12-year-old child identifies with has more effect on his vernacular than do his parents; and at the same time there is some evidence that social interaction within metropolitan families is important to personal identity and thus to the linguistic correlates of social values (Herndobler and Sled 1977).

The broad issues here are ultimately not urban vs. rural or family vs. peer groups but rather, basic questions about the social dynamics of language development: the effects of varying amounts of interaction with different sorts of people, and the relative importance of different types of social interaction on a developing vernacular--social dyads such as parent/child, older/younger sibling, brother/sister, buddy/buddy, teacher/pupil). In a sense, rural families are as close to a controlled situation as a sociolinguist is likely to find for studying these dynamics, in that

fewer social relations enter the picture, or at least less frequently renewed ones. The basic justifications for a detailed study of rural families are to observe in microcosm the factors that underlie linguistic change, and--inasmuch as there are linguistic differences between city and country (cf. Callary 1975)--to attempt to elucidate the factors that account for them.

In a rural setting, the greatest amount of social interaction a child will probably have is with other family members, to a greater extent than in towns and cities. The potential social contacts of rural families are less frequent than those of families in town, even with the advent of telephones, TV's and two-car families (or in the country, families with a car and a pick-up truck). The cohesive rural neighborhoods of the late 1800's have virtually disappeared, along with country schools and small country churches; rural telephones often have automatic cut-offs after 6 or 8 minutes of conversation; and watching TV is a passive sort of communicative event that apparently is not as influential on a person's pronunciation as day-to-day contacts with other people (Labov 1973). If the amount of interaction has in itself an important effect on language development and communicative skills (e.g. style-shifting and the range of stylistic variation), then study of rural families may reveal who has had the greatest influence on the vernacular of particular persons; and if the study can include several generations in a single family, it may be possible to determine "lines of social descent" for specific linguistic features within that family.

The types of social interaction available to rural children in the crucial pre-adolescent and adolescent years of his language socialization are probably more limited than those an urban child can choose from. I would speculate that in rural families one's playmates are more often brothers and sisters, and there are certainly no neighborhood gangs; even interaction with schoolmates may have a different

flavor in rural areas: no friends just down the street, fewer band rehearsals and baseball practices, and long bus-rides made necessary by school consolidation--a situation in which the children's spontaneous interaction may well have a different socializing effect than the shorter bus-rides endured by urban children. As for the impact of the automobile (and the tractor): farming families tend to live further apart now on bigger farms; and driving one's children down the road a couple of miles to play with his friends may not be a regular event.

I cannot claim any expertise in rural sociology; all I am suggesting is that there may be identifiable social factors which make the dynamics of language development and change discernibly different in rural and urban areas--and that one of the social factors behind these differences may be the relative importance of the immediate family.

It is worthwhile to identify the intra-familial relations that may affect the language socialization of the members of rural families: Does the mother play a more significant role in the development of the children's vernacular than the father does? Are older siblings generally taken as linguistic models for the vernacular of younger children? Or is it more complicated, with sisters taking older sisters as models, and brothers, brothers? We have mounting evidence that sex-identity may be extremely important in establishing a person's vernacular; what aspects of family interaction lie behind this? Would linguistic data compared along a female "line of descent" over several generations yield different results from data along a male "line of descent"? Do the vernaculars of siblings resemble each other more than they resemble either parent? Do different vernacular patterns turn up for the first child and for younger siblings? Does an "only child" have a distinctively different pattern of language socialization? It is obvious that more questions have been raised here than can be laid to rest--but it may be significant to study rural families from a sociolinguistic perspective: if the vernacular of several family members can be identified, the relative importance of family and community ties for an individual can then potentially be measured. Some of the following patterns may

- emerge:
1. Family members may share features that outsiders do not have.
 2. Mother and children may share features the father does not have.
 3. Each age-group may share features throughout an entire rural area, with more distinct differences between one age-group and the next than specifically between one generation of a family and the next.
 4. One sex-group may share features the other does not have within the same age-group--patterned either within families or independently of them.

In other words, I am arguing that family structure be considered as a social factor with as much potential sociolinguistic importance as previously exploited indices such as age, sex, education and social class.

Sociolinguists who have used the family as a unit for study have generally done so for pragmatic reasons rather than theoretical ones. Shuy and his associates used school children in their Detroit study (Shuy *et al.* 1967) as a means of access to other age-groups, interviewing the child, one of the parents and occasionally a grandparent or a teenaged sibling. Labov *et al.* (1972) mention efficiency in the use of the interviewer's time as a reason to interview several members of a family. Two rural collections of data have used the methodology devised by Shuy *et al.* : the Arkansas Language Survey (Underwood 1972) and another survey applying his research format in Tennessee (Bethany Dumas, personal communication); but in no case ~~that~~ I am aware of have all the members of a rural family been systematically studied to reveal the dynamics of language variation within that context.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The research currently under way in the Ozarks is focussed on four generations¹ of a specific family that is under ethno-historical study through the Center for Archaeological Research at Southwest Missouri State University. As a result of

inter-disciplinary cooperation, fairly detailed information regarding the family's history and social values is being collected, and it provides a research context that gives an excellent opportunity for understanding the role rural families play in the process of linguistic socialization and language change--and the role language plays in family interaction and the maintenance of cultural identity.

The Data Base

The tape-recorded interviews on which the initial analysis of language variables has been based were conducted by non-linguists for the purposes of reconstructing an ethno-history of the family.² Seven individuals from several branches of the family were interviewed for the first time in 1976, and each interview lasted at least an hour. In subsequent contacts with the family to elicit more formal styles of speech, I have extended the data base by interviewing two more family members (Figure 1). The age-range of the persons interviewed is from 97 to 8 years of age; three are male and six, female. All the individuals in one nuclear family have been interviewed (nos. 5-9 in Figure 1), as well as some of the living members of older generations. Brief biographical sketches follow:

- Respondent no. 1. David was born in 1880 near the rural community of Boaz, in Christian County, Missouri. His father was a prosperous farmer and a county politician. David grew up on the Boaz farm, graduated from Marionville Collegiate Institute (a 3 year high school), taught in country schools from 1903 to 1919, farmed his father's land and was a Methodist circuit rider from 1918 to 1945. Indications of his world-view: he is a Mason and has compiled an extensive geneological record of the family.
- Respondent no. 2. Lillie was born in 1893 near Boaz. Her father, a farmer, died when she was 7; her mother was the operator for a local telephone system and managed to get by running a 40-acre farm. Lillie 6 years of formal education, married at age 17, raised 6 children and has lived all her life in or near Boaz. Indications of her world-view: she is intensely loyal to her family, and suspicious of outsiders.

- Respondent no. 3. Felice was born in 1903 near Boaz. Her father, from Georgia, was a teacher in country schools until 1909 and farmed until his retirement. Felice received a high school education at a private girls' school in Georgia, and later attended college in Springfield, Mo., for 2 years. She married in 1929 and lived on a farm near Boaz until 1955. Indications of her world-view: she enjoyed childhood music lessons and wanted to be a speech teacher.
- Respondent no. 4. Blanche was born in 1907 near Boaz, to David; attended primary school near Boaz, graduated from Greenwood H.S., attended Ozark Wesleyan College one year; taught school in Iron County (eastern Missouri) for 2 years; married a railroad man from there in 1933; returned to Christian County in 1945 when husband took over her family's farm. She taught there, too, and eventually graduated from SMS College, Springfield. Indications of world-view: has fond memories of childhood, apologizes for her English.
- Respondent no. 5. Charles was born in 1936 in Iron County, Mo., to Blanche; lived on farm in Iron Co. until 10 years old, then on farm in Christian Co. Graduated from the U. of Mo. at Columbia with a major in agriculture; worked part-time in Springfield 1959-1967 to support the family farm; now runs the expanded farm as an agri-business. Indications of world-view: does not belong to many organizations, hesitated to discuss non-public aspects of his life with interviewers.
- Respondent no. 6. Margie was born in 1940 in Springfield, Mo. Her father was self-educated, worked for the P.O. and died when she was 16. She graduated from high school, attended college briefly; married Charles; has three children; teaches 16 private piano lessons a week and is a church organist; has recently returned to college to study archaeology. Indications of world-view: had wanted to be a nurse, but married instead.
- Respondent no. 7. Juanita was born in 1960 to Charles and Margie; is growing up on a farm and will graduate from a consolidated high school in 1978; she has a steady boy-friend. Indications of world-view: does not intend to go to college, hopes to find an out-door job but is taking vocational training for secretarial and accounting work.
- Respondent no. 8. Eddie was born in 1962 to Charles and Margie; is growing up on a farm and will graduate from a consolidated high school in 1980; he is an active worker on the farm. Indications of world-view: reads military history and science fiction, intends to go to the U. of Mo. as his father did, will perhaps take over the family farm.
- Respondent no. 9. Linda was born in 1969 to Charles and Margie, attends consolidated primary school, has not yet expanded her horizons much beyond the family and some pets, though she plays occasionally with a girl-friend from school. Indications of world-view: she wants to work with animals when she grows up.

The interviews have been the source of two types of linguistic data--conversational passages within the main body of the interviews, and formally elicited reading

passages and word-lists. Fifteen-minute segments of conversation were selected for a pilot study of several phonological variables: (ay), (ey), (ɔ/a), (nt) and (-ing); and it is planned to analyze larger portions of the interviews once the pilot study is complete.

Methodology

The analytical methods used in this study are based on those developed by Labov to investigate English in New York City (Labov 1966, Labov 1970a, Labov, Yaeger and Steiner 1972): assignment of numerical values to tokens of the variables, classification of the data according to style of speech--i.e. casual or spontaneous, careful, reading style and word-list style--in a variety of communicative contexts, analysis of language-internal conditioning factors such as the phonological segments that precede and follow the variables, and their position within units of intonation; and correlation between the linguistic variation and social factors such as age, sex, socio-economic level and childhood position within the family.

In this paper I am reporting the preliminary investigation of the variables (ay) and (ey)--specifically, the phonetic quality of the vowel nuclei; and for (ay), the presence or absence of the final up-glide as well. These two diphthongs were selected for study because they had exhibited wide variation among the rural population and it seemed likely that a chain-shift might be taking place: a shift in one of these vowels that would ultimately entail a shift in the other (cf. Labov, Yaeger and Steiner 1972: 146).

Valuation

To assess the phonetic range of variation and to assign a numerical value to each token of the variables, the following scales were used:

Values for (ay) as in night, hike, side, ripe

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (ay-1) | [a ⁱ , a:i] | low, non-fronted nucleus |
| (ay-2) | [a ⁱ , a:i] | raised, fronted nucleus |
| (ay-3) | [a:] | raised, fronted long monophthong |

Values for (ey) as in hay, take, same, stays

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------------|---|
| (ey-1) | [e ⁱ , e ⁱ] | mid-front nucleus, tense or lax |
| (ey-2) | [e ⁱ , ə ^d] | centralized mid-front nucleus, or fronted mid-central one |
| (ey-3) | [ə ⁱ , ə ⁱ] | mid-central or lowered mid-central nucleus |

Analysis of the variables

Once values had been assigned to stressed monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, the data were tabulated for analysis according to phonetic environment and style of speech. In the pilot study only the basic effects of prosodic context and style of speech have been determined; detailed analysis of the effects of specific phonological contexts and determination of the structure of variable rules will require the larger data base that will emerge from the main study.

Average values of (ay) and (ey) in the various speech styles and in two prosodic contexts were calculated, for words in which the variables were in word-final position (e.g. buy, hay), and for words in which they were followed by different major phonological classes of sounds: nasals (fine, came), obstruents (e.g. hike, ate), fricatives (e.g. nice, save); words containing /l/ or /r/ contiguous to the variables (e.g. claim, while, ride, fire) have been set aside for separate analysis later. Values for the variables in these different contexts were then weighted equally to achieve average values for the variables in association with specific conditioning factors.

Results: Prosodic Conditioning

For five persons in the family, it was found that stressed words containing (ey) had strikingly different values when they occurred at the end of an intonation contour or when followed by only one unstressed monosyllable such as it or him. Felice, Margie and her three children all have much more centralized nuclei for (ey) in this pre-pause position than in other positions (see Figure 2). David and his grandson Charles, on the other hand, have virtually no prosodic conditioning of (ey), and Blanche and her cousin Lillie show moderate conditioning in the opposite direction: for them the vocalic nuclei tend to be less centralized in pre-pause position. Table 1 on p. 17 presents the numerical data.

For (ay) there is not any definite pattern of prosodic conditioning. The over-all values of (ay) are quite different from person to person, but only two individuals show any strong prosodic conditioning of (ay) and in two different directions: Charles' wife Margie shows much less fronting in pre-pause position than elsewhere, but the data-base here for pre-pause position is very small; whereas Charles' aunt Felice shows much greater fronting in that position (see Figure 3). David and his niece Lillie and his great-grandson Eddie show minor conditioning toward lower values of (ay) in pre-pause context; the data-base for Blanche in pre-pause position was too small to justify analysis. See Table 2 on p. 17.

What conclusions can be drawn from this array? While it cannot be said that pre-pause position will inevitably affect the phonetic variation of stressed vowels, it seems clear that it is an important factor in the variation of (ey) in the youngest generation (Juanita, Eddie and Linda) and for their mother and Felice;³ and the same conditioning process is at work in (ay) for Felice, but otherwise there is not a clear pattern to (ay). Perhaps all we can say is that prosodic conditioning of vocalic nuclei (as well as of word-final consonant clusters) needs to be considered when analyzing variable data. The pertinent point is that to compare data in different speech styles, one needs to remember that word-lists, which are often

used as a measure of highly formal, self-conscious speech, are read with intonation contours that may need to be taken into account.

Style Variation

Variation according to the style of speaking has been analyzed for pre-pause data in three different styles: casual speech, careful speech and speech during the reading of word-lists. (The reading passage was omitted because it had not been designed with the variables in pre-pause position and so it is not strictly comparable.) Stylistic variation is evident for both (ay) and (ey). (ay) appears to be a more "highly developed" variable in this regard: it varied in the same direction for all the individuals in the study except for David and Linda, with higher values present in casual speech and lower ones in more formal styles (see Figure 4). This can be interpreted as evidence for a sensitivity to an external standard for (ay)--a recognition that a non-fronted quality for the vowel is more appropriate or proper than fronted ones; whereas the values of (ay) in casual speech can be taken as closer to the vernacular ones. The values of (ay) in Juanita's and Linda's casual and careful speech styles are very close to their word-list pronunciation. The phoneme /ay/ may be shifting away from the fronted monophthong variety in this part of the Ozarks; and the shift to an opener vowel quality is virtually complete for these two girls, so that stylistic variation is no longer extreme.

The stylistic variation of (ey) is less extreme and regular (see Figure 5), indicating perhaps that it has not reached the same level of awareness that (ay) has. The centralizing of (ey) is a recent tendency in the family; compare the fairly low values (ey) has for David, Lillie, Felice and Blanche in careful speech style (the style for which most data was available), with the higher values of Charles, Juanita, Eddie, Margie and Linda. Centralized (ey) is probably not stigmatized as strongly as fronted (ay)--certainly the values of (ey) in word-list pronunciation do not

cluster as closely as those of (ay) do, and there is variation in conflicting directions, such as the higher values of (ey) for Charles and Lillie in word-lists, where most of the others had less centralization.

The relation between language change in progress and the values of variables in formal speech styles is not straight-forward. Changes "from above" socially are reflected first in the most closely monitored styles of speech, whereas changes "from below", which are preceeding without conscious approval, are not. When a change "from below" enters the awareness of people, it is often stigmatized as a negative stereotype and may not reach completion (or categorical status). Thus there are two sorts of stereotypes reflected in formal speech styles: positively stereotyped changes will show up more clearly in more formal styles than elsewhere until the change is virtually complete, and negatively stereotyped change will hardly occur in these formal styles until the change is virtually complete. The investigator cannot tell the whole story of change in progress from an array of variation along the parameter of style, without also considering age and sex data that show in what direction the change is moving. In the present study, it may be that (ay) is an example of a positive stereotype that is gaining ground, while (ey) is a change "from below" that is subject at this point only to mild negative stereotyping. (Note that Lillie, despite her advanced age, has a strongly centralized (ey); she is one of the most "localized" members of the family, with fewer types of social contact than any of the others except the children. Her social status may thus be lower than that of the more widely traveled members of the family.)

Social Variation

Several tentative correlations between the linguistic variables and extra-linguistic factors can be made. To facilitate the correlations I have calculated an average value of each variable for each person: the values in the different contexts (p. 9) have been given equal weight in figuring over-all averages for each person.

Several social factors seem to have influence on the variables: sex, age, possibly social position and status within the family during childhood.

The two sexes have separate levels of fronting for (ay)--most dramatically in the two youngest generations: Charles and his son Eddie exhibit much higher values or (ay) than do his wife and daughters, and in fact (ay) fronting may currently be a sign of masculinity, being maintained despite (or because of) the negative stereotyping it has, as part of the "outlaw traits" of men and boys. ("Outlaw traits" or social values that run counter to the openly supported community norms have been noted in small-town and rural society elsewhere in the Ozarks; cf. West 1945.)

Age-grading is not strongly apparent, although the (ay) and (ey) values of Lillie, Blanche and Margie could be construed as a gradual shift toward lower values; a situation which is echoed faintly by the relative values of Charles and Eddie. David's values for (ay) are highly atypical of the family, and the two young girls' values break sharply away from those of the older females, suggesting a fairly sudden and radical reorganization of their vowels in phonological space (Figures 6 and 7).

Education in itself can hardly be seen as an influential factor for discriminating within this group of people: David had only 9 years of education during his linguistically formative years; Lillie had 6, Felice 11 and Blanche presumably 13 during adolescence; yet the differences in values do not co-vary directly with their educational backgrounds. Charles had 16 years of education and his son, only 10; yet their values of (ey) and (ay) have much in common.

Social position (to call it socio-economic class would be stretching the social data too far) may account for David's low values for (ay) and (ey): he is a Mason and was a respected Methodist minister for many years--but until we gather data from a wider range of people in various social positions, we cannot do more than guess at this aspect of personal biography. Lillie's social contacts have been more localized than those of most of the family; if high values for (ay) and (ey) have traditionally

been characteristic of the non-standard vernacular of the area--as they may have been--her high values could be indicative of her status; and Felice's lower values may reflect her childhood identity as a pampered only child.

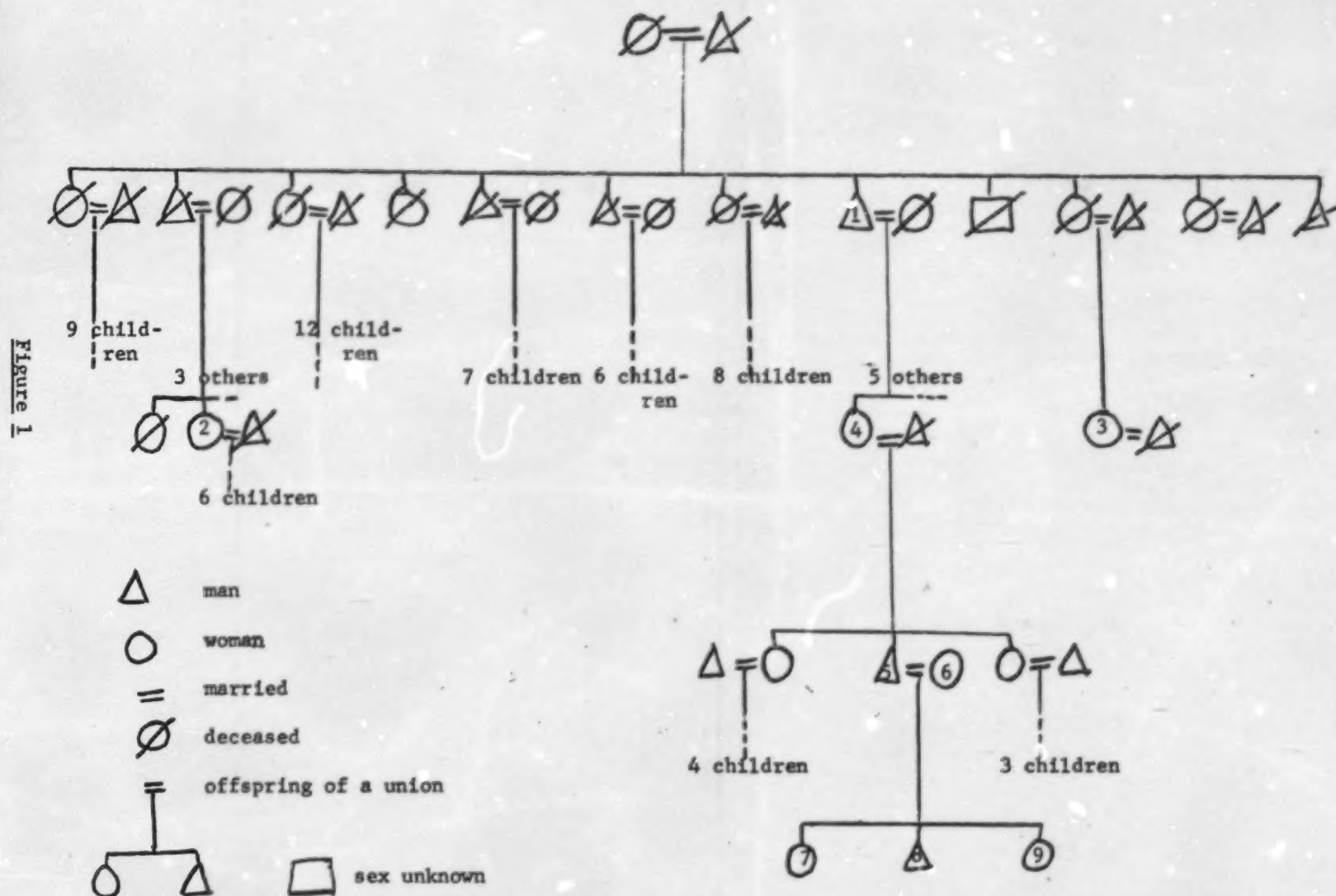
The question of family influence on linguistic variables which I raised earlier can be given partial and tentative support on the basis of the data from the one complete nuclear family in the study: there may be ties between father and son (e.g. Charles and Eddie) and influences between sisters (e.g. Juanita and Linda); however, there appears to be no indisputable influence of parents on the first child, even in a rural setting, nor is there a direct influence from an older sister to a younger brother (Juanita and Eddie). (The fact that Juanita's average (ey) value is similar to her father's cannot be taken at face value: she has much greater prosodic conditioning for (ey) than Charles does (Figure 2), and her values for (ay) are in no way parallel to his.

SUMMARY

There are obvious reasons to be tentative about the results reported here. Only one family line has been investigated; the data-base of the pilot study is relatively small; detailed variable rules have not yet been worked out; statistical measures of reliability have^{not} been made; and language attitude tests need to be developed to check the validity of the positive and negative stereotyping I have posited. However, this pilot study of the (ay) and (ey) variables in a rural Ozark family has revealed several tendencies that will perhaps be confirmed in the main study which is underway:

1. (ey) has developed strong prosodic conditioning within the last two generations.
2. The vocalic nucleus of (ey) is becoming centralized.
3. The vocalic nucleus of (ay) is losing its fronted quality and monophthongization, especially in the youngest generation of females.
4. High values of (ay) may carry a social connotation of male identity.
5. The influence of family members may be one of the factors affecting language change, but it is not a strong factor even in rural areas.

Figure 1: A Partial Kinship Diagram for a Family in Rural Christian County, Missouri, 1977.
(Respondents are numbered in chronological order according to date of birth.)



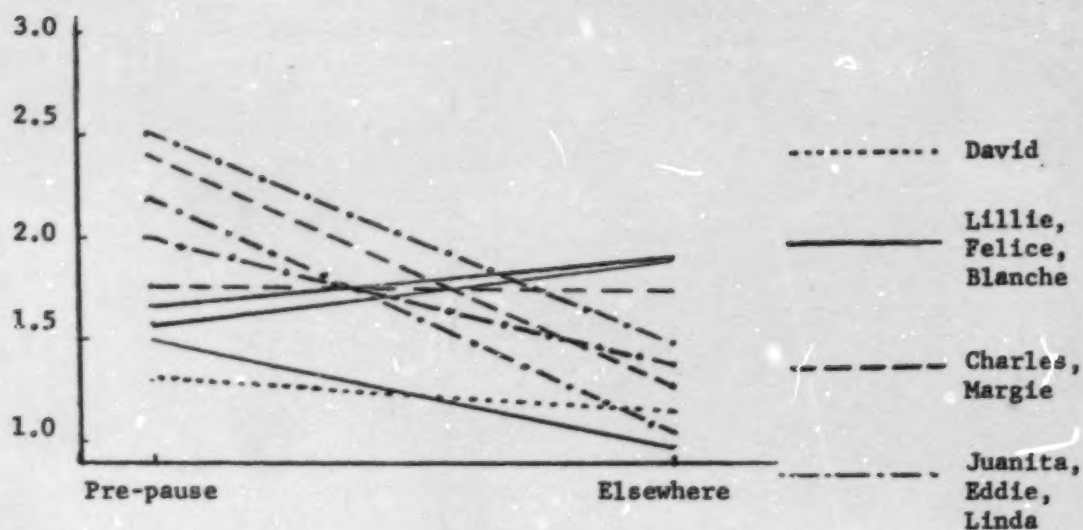


Figure 2: (ey) in pre-pause position and elsewhere
(data from careful speech)

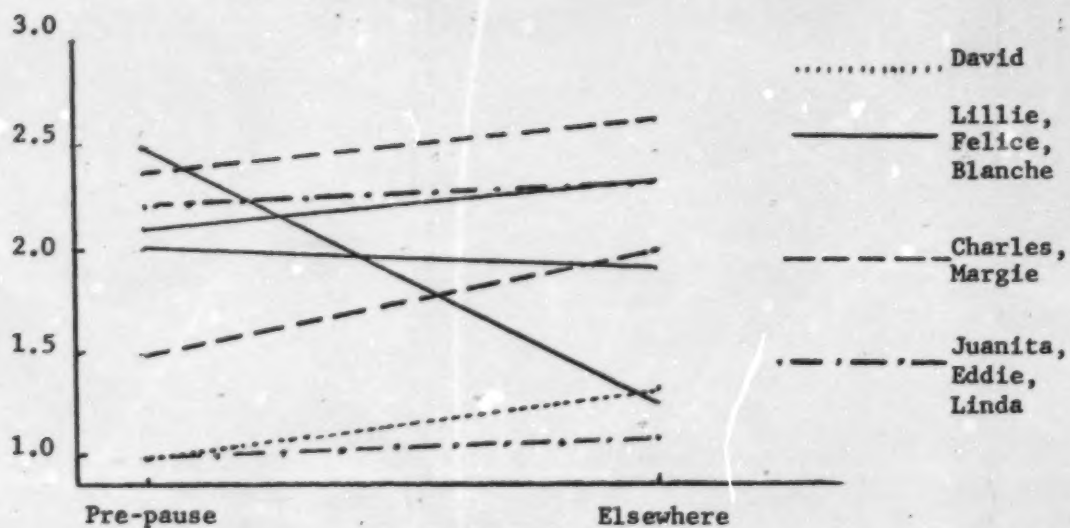


Figure 3: (ay) in pre-pause position and elsewhere
(data from careful speech)

	<u>Pre-pause</u>		<u>Elsewhere</u>		number of tokens			
	casual	careful	casual	careful				
David	---	1.3	1.25	1.2	0	10	4	14
Lillie	1.3	1.7	2.2	1.9	3	12	6	21
Felice	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	3	12	5	15
Blanche	2.0	1.6	1.9	1.9	7	8	16	7
Charles	2.5	1.8	3.0	1.75	2	10	1	20
Margie	2.0	2.4	1.0	1.3	1	7	2	7
Juanita	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.4	5	10	13	18
Eddie	3.0	2.2	1.2	1.1	1	11	6	10
Linda	3.0	2.5	1.75	1.5	1	4	4	4

Table 1: Average values for (ey) in pre-pause position and elsewhere, in casual and careful speech.

	<u>Pre-pause</u>		<u>Elsewhere</u>		number of tokens			
	casual	careful	casual	careful				
David	2.0	1.0	1.4	1.35	1	7	5	17
Lillie	3.0	2.1	2.1	2.3	4	7	8	15
Felice	3.0	2.25	2.5	1.3	1	8	2	14
Blanche	2.5	2.0	2.7	1.9	4	2	6	14
Charles	---	2.4	2.5	2.6	0	4	4	32
Margie	---	1.5	2.0	2.0	0	4	1	14
Juanita	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.1	3	7	11	18
Eddie	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.3	2	5	5	22
Linda	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.1	2	1	6	7

Table 2: Average values for (ay) in pre-pause position and elsewhere, in casual and careful speech.

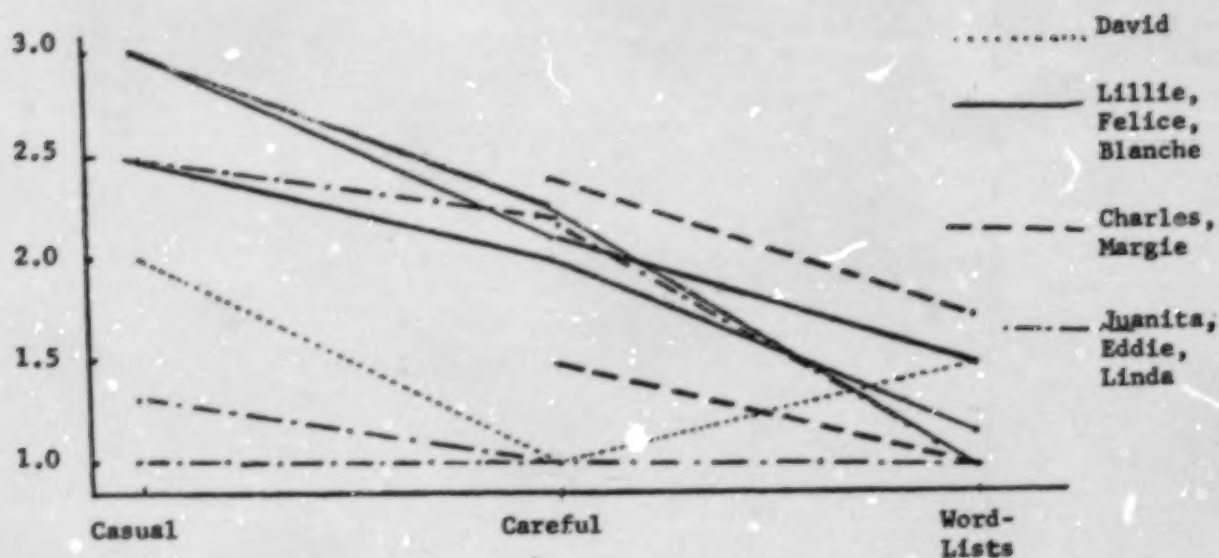


Figure 4: Style-shifting of (ay)
in pre-pause position

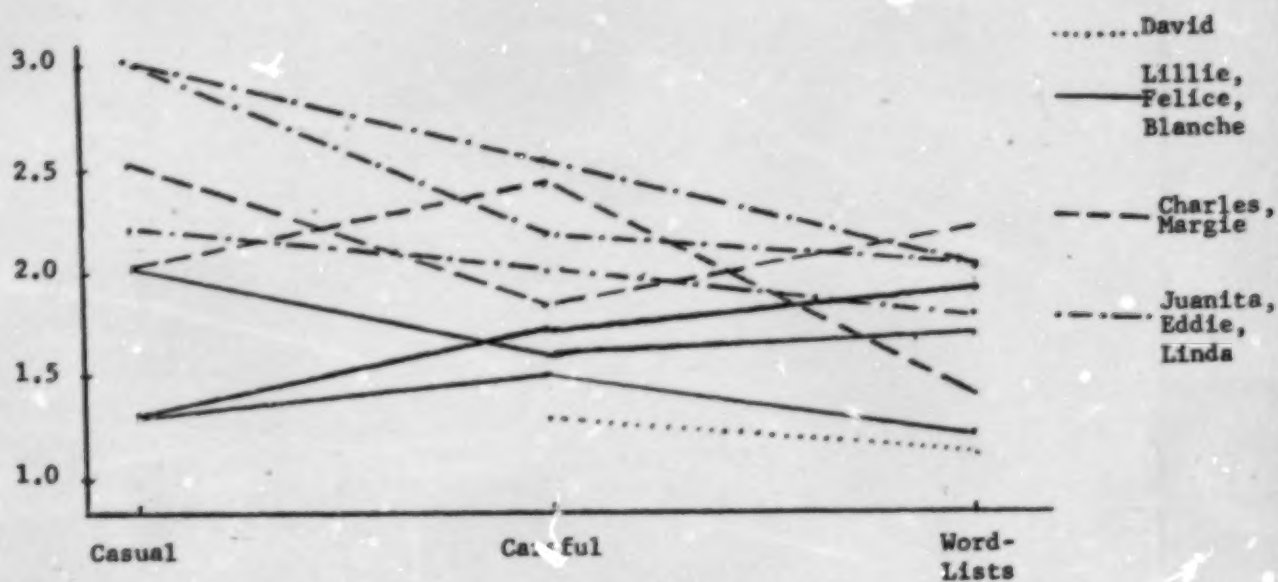


Figure 5: Style-shifting of (ey)
in pre-pause position

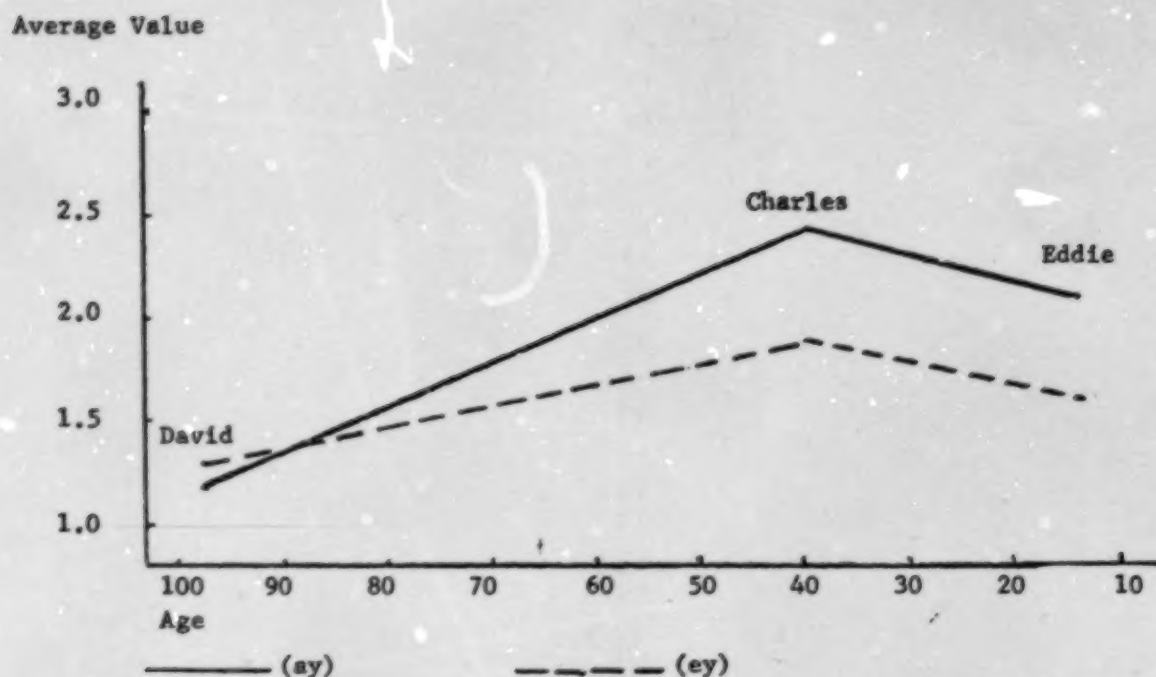


Figure 6: Correlations with age and sex: Males.
(ay) and (ey) in careful speech.

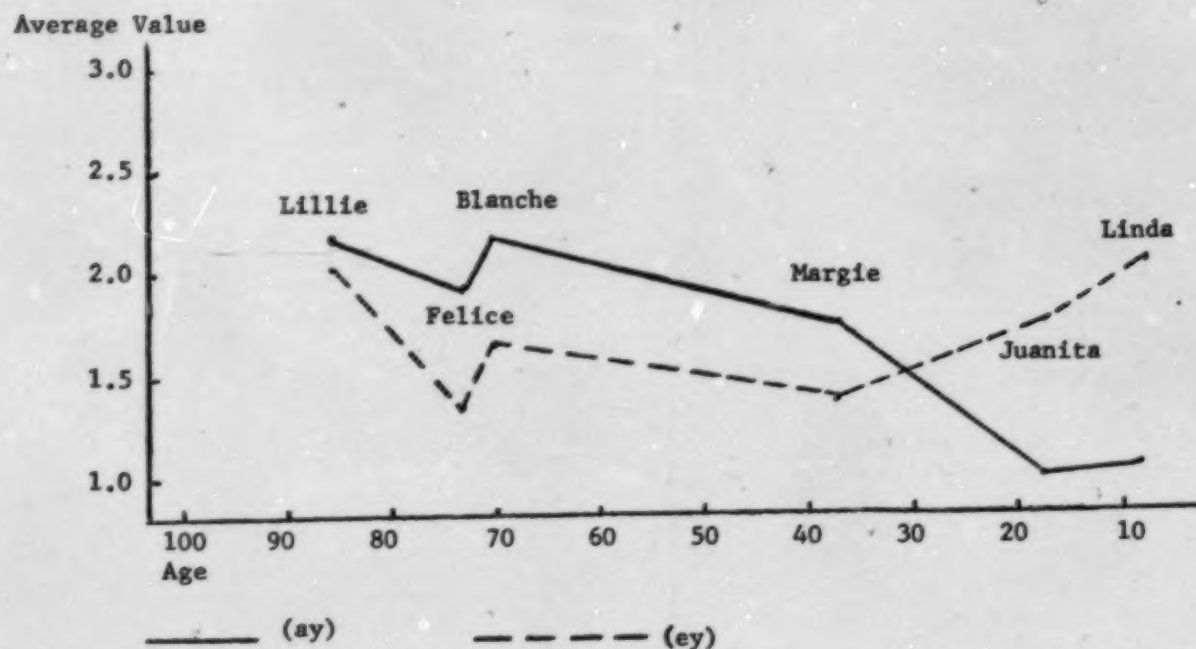


Figure 7: Correlations with age and sex: Females.
(ay) and (ey) in careful speech.

NOTES

1 The term generation in sociolinguistic literature usually refers to an age-group, irrespective of family ties. The sense in which I use the term here is narrower: a generation is the group of family members related to each other collaterally--e.g. brothers, sisters and their cousins; husband, wife and their brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; or from the perspective of the younger generation, mother, father, aunts and uncles; grandparents and great aunts and uncles.

2 Interviews conducted by non-linguists are a growing resource sociolinguists can use for an initial data-base. The people interviewed are often amenable to subsequent linguistically oriented interviews as well. As programs in oral history and regional studies proliferate, large quantities of potentially usable recordings are accumulating; this creates a situation analogous to that traditionally faced by historical linguists--documentary clues to the state of the language rather than directly elicited data about linguistic intuitions. A special value of using interviews conducted for other purposes is that, although the interview context is a formal one, the speakers do not guard their speech in that extra-cautious way they often do when a person who calls himself a linguist is the interviewer. (The ideal, of course, is to employ non-linguists who are specially trained in techniques of eliciting casual speech, as in Wolfram and Christian 1976.)

3 Vocalic shifts in the same prosodic environment have been observed for /ər/ in the speech of Felice and her cousin Lillie: [ər] → [ɔr].

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